1: Títiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[1] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarriñe, Cautinche, Renaco, and Cholchol (Map 2).

There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[2] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[1] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.
[2] Brand, 1941a, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

1 1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the term Mapuche-Huilliche.[1] This is the group with which my report is concerned.

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Soon after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and, within the next twelve years, established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. During the ensuing three hundred years of white rule, [illegible] a short account of [illegible] Much data of interest will be provided in the succeeding chapters, but I must defer for the most part [illegible] of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1883, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1927, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began.

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circumstances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *cüga*, *cunga*, and *elpa*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[2] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture,

[1] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

2: Title: E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

[122] This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit.

Prelude to the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when scouts of Diego de Almagro's advance into central Chile [illegible] Peru in 1541 the only Spaniard who had penetrated Araucanian territory was Pedro de Valdivia, who had reached the Río Bío-Bío. Valdivia's first campaigns against the Indians were successful, but the Araucanians soon learned the use of cavalry and by [illegible] Valdivia's principal army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-58) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599?, by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century).

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1700-[illegible] a [illegible] for the [illegible] of [illegible] was also a period of [illegible] against the [illegible] Araucanian [illegible] the [illegible] Spaniards [illegible] the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1858.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 800,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collío Huaiquiñaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collío as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian; since a considerable [illegible] Indians, or a definite minimum of [illegible]. Probably [illegible] Araucanians [illegible] Indian [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g. Pomaire near Malpilla.

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1536, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the early grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucania, and the Valdivia-Osorno area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Rio Cautin. Most of these missionaries were Italians, Italy, at one time, being the only Roman Catholic missionary with a flair for learning the Araucanian language. The Araucanian has been a favorite subject for study by Europeans and Americans since the early days of the Spanish conquest. Many of the early writers, such as Ercilla, Molina, Febres, Havestadt, Valdivia, Luis de Valdivia, Olivares, Rosales, Gay, Claudio Gay, Medina, Lenz, Latcham, Tomicha, Augusta, Cooper, Kroeber, Hilger, Barros Arana, Vicuña Mackenna, Vicuña Subercaseaux, Thayer Ojeda, Barros Grez, Pinto Agüero, Encina, Ramírez Necochea, Ramírez Frontaura, Ramírez Zañartu, Ramírez Alfonsin, Ramírez Cabañas, Ramírez Ortúzar, Ramírez Ortúzar, Ramírez Ortúzar

(1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

NOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

pondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

ndians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of aces of which we have any record. During more than ffered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto ericas, that within their territories colonies could only mmediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. ble of these were time after time razed to the ground, and red, by these hardy barbarians.

I have treated of the principal physical characters of pose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of

described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, e some very important accounts, and of late years two appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by nd the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by

he result of personal observation during a three years' tory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in ngol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the sen modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the f the Conquest.

icano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change rincipal factors have tended to modify considerably his st was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary duction of spirituous liquors.

o foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the

ht the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this f domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of metal working. This period also sees him first begin to life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or

Anthrop. Inst., xxxiv (1904), pp. 170–180.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with acacias and laurels typical.

In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

[1] Since certain *Araucanian* subtribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *hu* before *a*, *e*, and *i*, as English *w*; *gu* before *e* and *i*, as *k*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *tl*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ü*, as *ng* in English *sing*; *ñ*, close to labialized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904–10), Félix José de Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

cedrus chilensis). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Rio Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intercordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverria, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear. Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly nonlinguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Peguenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Peguenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Peguenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 2: 431–38).

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Peluenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapí (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 196, 211, 269, 468–69; 2: 431), and that the *Peluenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30') of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Peluenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143).

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Peluenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[3] At the present time, west of the Andes, the *Araucanian*-speaking Indians are massed mainly in southern Middle Chile, from about lat. 37° to 42° S., in the Provinces of Arauco, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Cautin, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, between the Bio-Bio River and the Canal of Chacao. There are a few scattered *Araucanian*-speaking Indians between the Bio-Bio and the Maule Rivers, but apparently none north of the Maule, and few or none, so far as the present writer can discover, on Chiloé, although north of the Bio-Bio River and on Chiloé somatological and cultural (Cavada, 1914) influences still survive in greater or lesser degree. East of the Andes, the surviving pure blood and Mestizo remnants of the earlier transcordilleran *Araucanian* migrants are found scattered in various sections of the Pampa, chiefly in the Territory of Neuquén, with other groups in the Provinces of Mendoza and the Territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Chubut.

TRIBAL NAMES AND DIVISIONS

[0] The tribal appellative "*Araucano*" was first used by Ercilla in his "La Araucana" of 1569-89 (1910, p. xix), to denote the Indians of the locality of Arauco ("muddy water," from *Araucanian* ragh, rag, ruc, "clay," + ko, co, "water"). Modern anthropology uses the term for all Indians speaking the *Araucanian* or *Mapuche* language, and it is this usage which we are following in the present paper. The *Araucanians* themselves do not use the term. They call themselves simply che, "people," or re che, "unmixed, pure, real" + "people." Modern Chilean *Araucanists* commonly use and prefer *Mapuche*, "People of the Land" (mapu, "land," + che).

The terms *Auca* (syn.: *Auka*, *Oaca*, *Aucano*, *Aucanian*), "rebel," from *Quechua* auka, "enemy, rebel," and *Promaucae* (syn.: *Promaucs*, *Promaucas*, *Promaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*), "wild enemy," from *Quechua* paruro, paruru, "uncultivated field, wild," + auka, were names given by the *Incas* to the rebel or unconquered Indians south of the Maipó River to the Bio-Bio River, and were adopted and used in a similar limited sense by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries. The anthropological use—as, e.g., by Brinton—of *Aucas* as a generic name for "*Araucanians*" has not been a happy one.

[0] [3] Present-day anthropological usage, well justified by our historical, linguistic, and cultural evidence, divides the *Araucanians* into the following main groups:

West of Andes:
Picunche.
Mapuche.
Huilliche (and *Cuncu*).
Andean Highlands:
Pehuenche.
East of the Andes:
Argentine *Araucanians.*

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In the present paper "*Araucanian*" is used to include all these divisions, and these subdivisional names are used in their currently accepted anthropological connotations to be defined in the following paragraphs. The more important variant uses of the subdivisional names by the *Araucanians* themselves, by non-*Araucanian* Indians, and by earlier writers, will be noted in passing. 101 ● 131

The *Picunche* (syn.: *Pikunche*), "North People," from *Araucanian* pi'ce, pikun, pikun, "north," + che, "people," occupied the area from the Andes to the Pacific Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River. At different times in the past, the southern boundary of the *Picun* maps, "north country," the territory of the *Picunche*, has been variously located from as far north as the Itata or the Bío-Bío to as far south as the Toltén (Havestadt, 1883, 2:680–81), depending largely on the relative geographical location of the users of the name and on the relative southern extension, at the time of use, of White conquest and rule. Some, too, of the *Araucanian*-speaking, and perhaps even some non-*Araucanian*, groups to the east of the Andes in the Tucumán and Mendoza regions of the western Pampa and eastern foothills were denominated *Picunche* in the middle and late 19th century. In modern times, the name has also been used for the *Araucanians* of Collipulli and the neighborhood in the Chilean Province of Malleco (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:581).

Latcham (1928 a, p. 126) subdivides the *Picunche* into three groups: those from (a) the Choapa to the Maipó River, (b) the Maipó to the Maule River, the earlier "*Promaucaes*," and (c) the Maule River to the Itata River.

The *Mapuche* (*Mapuenche*: Félix Jose, 1910, p. 24; 1916, 1:131), "People of the Land," from *Araucanian* mapu, "land," + che, occupied and still largely occupy the area west of the Andes from the Itata or the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River. The name is acceptable to present-day *Araucanians* themselves in this sense, although it can be and has been used with either a more inclusive meaning to signify all *Araucanians*, Chilean and Argentine, or with a less inclusive one to signify any local group, however small.

The *Huilliche* (*Huilli*, *Huiliche*, *Guilliche*, *Ghuylliche*, *Veliche*, *Reliche*), "South People," from *Araucanian* willi, "south," + che, occupied, and still partially occupy, the territory south of the Toltén, the Quepe, or the Callo Callo Rivers, to Corcovado Gulf, including Chiloé. At different times in the past the northern boundary of the *Huilli* maps has been located at various points between the Itata and the Toltén River. (Cf. supra under "*Picunche*.") Sometimes, too, the *Cunco* and Chilenian *Araucanians* have been included in the *Huilliche*, sometimes differentiated therefrom. In one early account, Guinnetta's of 1557–68, the cunco-using Indians (*Chono*)

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between Corcovado Gulf and Cape Tres Montes are called "*Huilli*," while Falkner used *Picki* ("Small-bodied") *Huilliche* for the *Araucanians* from Valdivia to the Sea of Chiloé, and *Vuta* ("Large-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Indians on both sides of the Cordillera from Chiloé to the Strait of Magellan (Cooper, 1917, pp. 20–22). (On use of "*Huilliche*" for Argentine *Araucanians*, cf. infra.)

The *Cunco* (syn.: *Junco;* in forms such as *Guinchi*, *Cunches*, and *Cunchi* (pl.) and *Kuncho*, as used by Molina, who followed Italian orthography, or as derived from him, *ch* = *k;* etymology uncertain) occupied the western third of half of the Chilean mainland from Valdivia or the Bueno to the Canal of Chacao, especially, according to Latcham (1928 a, p. 206), the Departments of Carelmapu and Osorno.

The *Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahue* of the older chroniclers and modern anthropologists were not *Araucanians*. Falkner's use of "*Chono*" as inclusive of the *Araucanian*-speaking Chilotan Indians was erroneous. The term *Huilliche Serrano* came in during the second third of the 18th century, according to Latcham (1929–30, 64:21: , to denote groups, previously called *Puelche*, of the Cordillera. The term *Molueche* (syn.: *Muluche*, *Ngulueche*), probably "Western People," from *Araucanian* gull, gulhue, "west," + che (not "Warrior People," Lenz, 1904–10, 2:509) first appears in our literature in 1774 as used by Falkner for the *Araucanians* both east and west of the Andes from the "confines of Perú" (or Coquimbo) south and including the non-*Araucanian Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahue* to the Strait of Magellan. *Molueche* was a name by which they were then known to the Argentine or "eastern" *Araucanians*. *Auca*, wherever used, refers to *Araucanians*.

The *Peluenche* (*Pegüenche*), "People of the Pines," from *Araucanian* pehuén, pegüen, pewen, "Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*)," occupied the high slopes and valleys of the main Andean Cordillera where their chief staple food, the Araucaria, grew, that is, from about lat. 37° 20′ to 40° 20′ S., and seemingly, they at different times or in different seasons of the year occupied or roamed over some of the territory outside of but adjacent to the Araucaria range. It is by no means clear whether the 17th-century "*Peluenche*" of the Cordillera between lat. 37° and 40° S. were the ethnic forebears of the 18th- and 19th-century "*Peluenche*" of the Cordillera between 34° and 37° described by Molina (1901, pp. 263–65) and others. (Cf. infra under Culture of the *Peluenche*.) Some of the early Chilean writers, such as Ercilla (1910, p. xix) and Olaverría (1852, p. 15) refer to these cordilleran people as "*Puelche*." From the middle 17th century on, the name *Peluenche* has been used for various bodies of Indians, in most cases, but not in all, identifiable as *Araucanian*-speaking, of the high Cordillera, of the eastern slopes thereof, or of the adjacent

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Pampa, from about lat. 34° to 40° S.; in the second half of the 18th century, for the non-*Araucanian* "*Serrano*" Indians of the Sierra del Volcán and the Sierra de la Ventana regions, in the eastern Pampa south of Buenos Aires, and south of these ranges to or toward the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30—possibly an author's or printer's error for "*Puelche*"). Since the middle of the 18th century, the name *Pehuenche* has also been used for a branch or branches of the Argentine *Araucanians* with their centers in or near the eastern slopes of the Andes. (Falkner, 1935, p. 97; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 26; Cox, 1863, pp. 184–185; Torrente, 1863, p. 2.)

Many of these *Araucanian*-speaking "*Pehuenche*" of the Argentine Pampa may well have been descendants, in part at least, of the earlier 16th- to 17th-century piñon-eating *Pehuenche* of the high Cordillera, but the relationship cannot be confidently established from our present evidence.

The Argentine *Araucanians* or subdivisions of them have been called by a great many names, of which the more important are: *Moluche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30); *Vilimoluche* (Sánchez Labrador, *ibid.*); *Pinenche* (Falkner, *ibid.*; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, pp. 231, 234); *Huilliche*, *Pichi Huilliche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 99: *Araucanian*, pichi—"small"); *Pehuenche*, *Peguenche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836; Cox, 1863, p. 184); *Picun-pehuenche* and *Huilli-pehuenche* (Cox, *ibid.*); *Manzaneros*, *Hombres del Manzanar* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Milanesio, 1898, p. 38: Span., manzano—"apple tree"); *Serranches* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30), *Ranquelche*, *Ranquelre* (Manzilla, 1877), *Ranquelines* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:227: "People of the Reeds," from *Araucanian*, rangi, rankil (*r*=*s*, dialectic shift)—"reed" (*Chusquea* sp. and/or *Panpalum* sp.)); *Puelche*, *Puelche* (*Araucanian*, pool, "east," + che) —*Serrano* (Cassoto, 1782, in Clark, 1937, pp. 114–115); *Moyanche* (Moreno, 1879); *Pampa* (Barbará, 1930); *Puinpa* (Molina, 1871 b, p. 482; 1901, p. 265); *Araucanos des Pampas* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:225). Of the nine smaller groups listed as "*Puelche*" by Falkner, Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, p. 80) considered the following to have been *Araucanian*-speaking: *Taluhet*, *Leuvuche*; the following in part *Araucanian*-speaking: *Diuihet*, *Cuilliehet*, *Chulilaubtuen*.

Around the middle of the 18th century, when we get our first glimpse of the respective locations of these subdivisions, the main body of the Argentine *Araucanians* called *Moluche* (*Pinenche*, *Pehuenche*, and *Huilliche*) by Falkner (1935, pp. 96–98), and *Moluche*, *Pinenche*, *Peguenche*, *Vilimoluche* and *Serranches* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 30–31) appears to have been massed around the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa from about lat. 30° S., somewhat

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south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 43° S., a little south of Lake Nahuelhuapi. In 1806, De la Cruz (1836, p. 36) located the *Puelenche* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 202) had done earlier, and the *Gelliche* south of them. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* were around Antuco (1833–36, 1:391). Mansilla in 1870 (1877, 1:3,8; 2:273) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 33° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Río Quinto and the Río Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chilean and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Puelenche* in the middle 19th century are descendants of the early 16th-century *Pehuenche* of Pietas, or of the middle 17th-century *Pehuenche* of Rosales and of the "Promo criminal de 1658"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Mansilla are descendants of Sánchez Labrador's *Ranquelche*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or option of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Pirenche* located by Falkner from about lat. 32° to 37° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Pirenche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 18th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Moluche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Moluche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Moluche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to one and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Río-Bío and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Río-Bío Rivers was at a very

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Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of Inca occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-Inca influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1550 and 1560 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable diversity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practised as far south as the Itapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1938 a, pp. 130, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 132; Lavalgne, 1939 a, p. 136).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapocho" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalonco were: *Aclelis*, blowguns with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy maces, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46-47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Maipocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1938 a, pp. 138, 156, 180).

On *Picunche* social and religious customs, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1938 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Puelmeche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Puelmeche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Puelmeche*" of Molina, Azara y Juanicó, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Pentping, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30' and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Puelmeche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine Araucanians, including these latter "*Puelmeche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are Molina (1870 a, 1870 b, 1901)

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EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvatore Canals Frau

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa Mitanda, or the eastern section, and the Región del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. There ended unceasingly and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open combats with the Indians who ruled the plains.

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 16th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were admirably different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Pampean in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its northern neighbors the Puelche (Tehuelche) and the Patagonians, and its northern neighbors, the Diaguard. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the Araucanians of Chile, whose language they also spoke (page 1, No. 19). The Araucanians are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America.

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people move almost 600 miles (1,000 km.) from their origi-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*. Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine,"+che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coincides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* 101 ●
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial 194
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians*. This elemental process of *Auracanisation* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds. 177

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will. [133]

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian* 167

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In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Pehuenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea.

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places.

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Pehuenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankul means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S.

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampista* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1730

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

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THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] Those differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

1 For discussion of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. 1, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. 1, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three areas the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobío, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobío they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[5]

But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo sucedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

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THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bio-Bio River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bio-Bio River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pendix A) for pronunciation. Since the Araucanian language adds no "s" to form the plural, none is added here unless the word has been adopted into the Spanish language.

The word "primitive" is not used in this study, as the Araucanians do not consider themselves primitives. Nor is the word "Indians" used; to the Araucanians it is a humiliating term, used by Spaniards, Chileans, and Argentines in the days of conquest in Argentina and of attempted conquest in Chile. In Chile, the Araucanians speak of themselves as Mapoche; in Argentina, as manzaneros or paisanos. I speak of them in the terms of the literature, namely as Araucanians.

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations are from photographs taken by me in the field.

The official exchange of currency in Chile in 1946-1947 was 30 pesos for an American dollar.

The data for Part I were collected by the writer and Margaret Mondloch, her field assistant, while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile from November 1946 to April 1947.

Araucanians were interviewed in areas designated as more conservative than others by Monsignor Guido Beck (Vicar Apostolic of the Araucanía) after he had conferred with fellow Capuchin missionaries of all areas occupied by these people. Monsignor Beck had spent 40 years among the Araucanians; the other missionaries, 10 to 50 years. The areas selected were Alepúe on the Coastal Range and Coñaripe in the Andes, both in the Province of Valdivia; and Licán in the lowlands of the river Toltén in the Province of Cautín (cf. fig. 1). Alepúe was reached on horseback; Coñaripe, by boat across Lake Calafquén. Since time did not permit a visit to Licán, informants from Licán were interviewed with those in the Boroa area en route to Licán. The area about Panguipulli (a Chilean lake port on Lake Panguipulli, en route to Argentina) was included because Father Sigifredo Frauenhäusl (Capuchin missionary among the Araucanians for 50 years) had interested Domingo Huenun in our study. Huenun was an Araucanian who could not well be bypassed without discourtesy—fortunately so, as we soon learned, as he was one of our best informants in the Chilean study and later a reliable source when checking information collected among the Argentine Araucanians (1951-1952); he was intelligent, accurate, truthful, most informative, and proud of the culture of his people. He and Father Sigifredo had assisted Father Félix José de Augusta in the compilation of the latter's 2-volume Diccionario (1916), where his name is given as Domingo Huenuñanco (vol. 1, p. xiv). Research, therefore, was not new to him.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

161 thorities give numbers varying from 97,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Ifiaque on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101 144 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mollfün che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the ones of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

142 Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[2] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

101 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

[2] Schaeuble (1939, pp. 63-66) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 184 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [197] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

lli:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

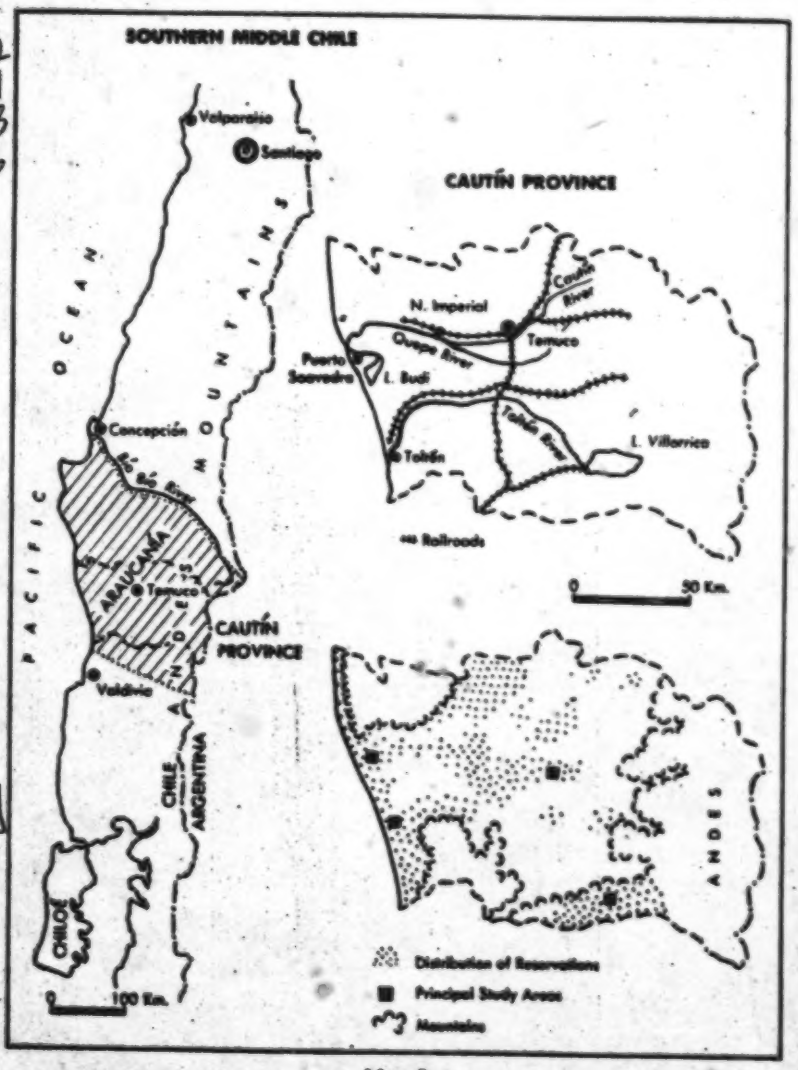
There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

[4 is blank]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.



MAP I

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Nillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[P.V]

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-81, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself, one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*ad mapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to correlated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puelche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the pre-reservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

101 619 794 613 582 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within the ritual congregation, however, there are other important classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

794 613 582 wife-receivers (*allan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in Mapucheland.

101 103 For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) regional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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tuistic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky promontory, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. Where great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in towns, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

(113)

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are also political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the unit of ritual responsibility, the locus in which multilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is open and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

181
182
204
(208)

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SHS Tehuelche SHS
Translations S&G

with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Pounk,' whence I believe the name Pehuenche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fe, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chonna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very palatable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the berries of the algarrobo. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Aten arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw